WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE COMPROMISE MEASURES. SPEECH OF HON. J. R. GIDDINGS.

THE SEVERAL ACTS OF CONGRESS WHICH CON-STITUTE THE COMPROMISE, INCLUDING THE

Delivered in the House of Reps., March 17, 1852.

The House having resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union on the Deficiency Bill, (Mr. MEADE, of Virginia, in the chair)-

Mr. GIDDINGS said:

ment of our session I have endeavored, so far as able, to guide the business of this body in the substantially embracing this doctrine; and now regular and appropriate channels marked out by our predecessors in the earlier and better stands pledged before the world to maintain days of the Republic. I endeavored, by all the this important right of the people of each days of the Republic. I endeavored, by all the influence I could command, to take up the President's message in the first months of the session. On examining that document, all parties could have brought forward their views. I will also add, that I regretted to hear the gentleman from Georgia, who has just taken his sage of the Compromise measures, to which I have referred. Indeed, the Whigs were more seat, boast in this Hall of the price of human flesh at the South. It appeared to me that this was not the place for such declarations.

The other, assembled in like manner, laid similar resolutions on the table. The support of which the liberty and the rights of the people these measures was a subject of agitation and depend; while both the other parties have, discussion, before we had proceeded so far as even to ballot for a Speaker; and few days of the entire session have passed, in which a por-tion of the time has not been occupied by such

The Compromise I understand to consist of fornia as a State. The object of that bill being Virginia from the slave markets of this District, and that for the recapture of fugitive slaves. all saestions of slavery were settled by the pasthe absurd notion that their action could bind members from the free States who voted for these measures, have survived the storm of popular indignation, brought upon themselves by the passage of those laws. Their successors were sent here for the very purpose of repealing these enactments; and I am of opinion that will require strong argument to convince them that the reprehensible conduct of their predecessors is to control and govern this Con-

I am aware that men in high official stations have announced to the country that the slave questions are settled—that all agitation has ceased. But what are the facts? We see and know that discussion has increased and ex-

These elections turned upon the question of slavery. And while on this point, I would ask what has blasted and withered the last political hopes of the present Secretary of S cal hopes of the present Secretary of State? Every man knows that it is this very question of slavery. While he has been writing letters litical breath, and has now pronounced the sentence of death to his political hopes. In

victims, in sixty years, from six hundred thou-

anable to hold their bondmen in subjection, called on the Federal Government to assist Executive power, then as usual in slaveholding constituted a precedent. Another similar treaty followed. The Indians failed to live up barbarity at which they revolted. At length the first Seminole war ensued. Then the sec-ond; and untold millions of the people's money

was established early in the present century;

and in a few years thereafter, Congress estabtution increased, more slave territory was de-Mexico followed, and vast territory was acquired. Three million slaves could not be held bondage by the power of the slave States. We were called on to permit the institution to be extended into our Territories; we did so: to from a land of chains, and sighs, and bitter answer. The people of the free States have witand they are endeavoring to east these burdens from them. And they will do it. Looking forward, as all reflecting men must,

we see that in sixty years more we shall have greater number than our present white population. Now, sir, if this Federal Government is to take upon itself the burden and expense of this House and of the country, I desire to hear him, and I await a response.

The North to understand them. I rose to speak for this purpose. I ever have been, am now, and trust I ever shall be, hostile to political deception and double-dealing. I desire to see kets for such a population, we shall find our-selves involved in business which may well oc-

cupy our whole time at no distant day.

For three years past, this body has done very little except to legislate for slavery. But what in this District? else can it do, when that institution shall be three times as great as it now is? Sir, this agitation will increase as slavery increases, unless this Government shall respect the constitutional rights of the free States, and relieve to know whether I would vote for a bill abolthem from the burdens, the disgrace, and the

crimes, of that institution. I have so often discussed the constitutional ghts of the several States respecting slavery, at I now feel no disposition to repeat the further agitation of the subject.

Mr. GIDDINGS. I thank the gentleman for rights of the several States respecting slavery, that I now feel no disposition to repeat the doctrines on which I base my political action; but I may be permitted to say, that Congress

late the rights of husband and wife. Slavery, with all these subjects, are matters which each State should regulate for itself, and with which

both the great political parties of the nation are committed. I need only quote the resolution of this House in December, 1838, which is in the following words:

"That this Government is a Government of limit ed powers, and that, by the Constitution of the United States, Congress has no jurisdiction whatever over the institution of slavery in the several States of this Confederacy."

This resolution was introduced by a distin-For the manner in which these political questions are now precipitated upon the House I feel no responsibility. From the commencethis was not the place for such declarations.

Sir, on the morning of the first day of this session, one of the great political parties of this body in caucus assembled, resolved to sustain the Compromise measures of the late Congress.

The other assembled in Place and the compromise measures of the late Congress.

The other assembled in Place and the congress of the late Congress. portant doctrine, upon the maintenance of ed principles.

measures as a final settlement of the slave question, the President, in his message, exhorts the people to adhere. The Whig and the Demoa series of laws, enacted by the late Congress, consisting, first, of the law which admits Calilencing all further agitation of the questions of election of our officers. I do not say that the whole Whig party were present at the caucus, but the act has gone forth as the act of the garments? And, when we appear at the bar are in operation—subject, like other statutes, but the act has gone forth as the act of the to modification or repeal. But it is said that party. Those individuals who were present vidently thought that servility to the Slave sage of these laws; that they are to operate as a final quietus of the whole slavery agitation. Power was the only means of securing political success. But we are given to understand, New Mexico. They were passed under the previous question, without examination. Few members of that Congress, I think, entertained that they will make no avowal of principles. but will select as their standard-bearer a genthe action of gentlemen now present. Few tleman of acknowledged military renown; will spike his cannon, take the fliats from their own muskets, and go forth to the conflict without

> And now, Mr. Chairman, the question comman, woman, and child, whether bond or free What will be the effect of maintaining the Compromise? What the effect of silencing further agitation of the slave question? These are important inquiries, which, as yet, have never

music, but with the silence of a funeral.

tion, by virtue of our own laws, man is degrathese Compromise measures? Gone, sir, most of them, to that land of political forgetfulness in deplorable ignorance, and disrobed of his Hampshire! What were the issues in Massa- swine. Here, sir, men and women are bred for

slave agitation had ceased it was operating in the popular mind, was silently stealing his poand held in disgust by Mohammedan Governments. I wish to be understood, and therefore repeat, that the support of the Comprolonger uncertainty. The official returns from cers, it is rapidly becoming the principal distore repeat, that the support of the Compreturbing element. The people in some portions mise measures is identified with and inseparamise measures is identified with and inseparaof the country will not confide in those who are | ble from the support of slave-breeding and slavethe advocates of freedom, in other parts they dealing now carried on in this District. To will confide in no other. The institution of slavery has increased its ctims, in sixty years, from six hundred thouis required, I understand, of each of the Demo-eratic cand dates for President, that he shall deed, at the time when that attempt to deceive sustain the Compromise, and thereby lend his the people of the North was made, it was them in recovering their fogitives from their neighbors, the Indians. Without discussion, District. Unless pledged to this, he cannot Whig candidate is to say nothing about it, to express no opinion in regard to it, to stand hands effected a treaty providing for the return of fugitive slaves to their masters. This neutral upon the subject. To stand neutral, to do nothing, is to lend an influence in favor in New Mexico, as we have seen by the public of this growing human flesh for market. This to their stipulations. The sending of their fellow men back to chains and bondage was a main supinely silent, is to continue it.

Now, I do not think there is a member on this floor from a free State who dare speak out boldly and say to this House and to the country that he is in favor of this breeding of manfic in God's image. If any member from the free States should do it, I think it would seal Louisiana was purchased; then his political fate. Yet gentlemen do not hesi-Texas was annexed. War with tate to rise here and declare their intention to support the Compromise, thereby lending their fully ask the gentleman from New York, [Mr. BROOKS.] who first publicly swore allegiance to give free territory to Texas; and we did it: to this Compromise, whether he is in favor of suspay her for territory which our arms had con-quered; and we did it: to take upon the nation to understand the position of gentlemen, and the burden of capturing and returning fugitive slaves; to appoint officers, or slave-catchers, in all parts of the free States; to subject the citi-respectfully ask the gentleman to say what he zens of the North to the expenses and disgrace of chasing down the hunted fugitive, as he flies over to continue or to abolish it? I await his

answer.
Inasmuch as that gentleman remains silent, I
respectfully ask any other Northern man, who nessed these things. They know them to be unconstitutional—violations of their rights— respectfully ask any other Northern man, who amount of guilt, here, and in the Territories, and on our Southern coast. If gentlemen inhuman, and barbarous. They, of course, understand that the remedy is with themselves, and they are endeavoring to cast these burdens and they are endeavoring to cast these burdens embrace this slave-trade; that if we sustain is settled, they intend to be understood by the Compromise we must sustain this traffic. And I desire to see gentlemen stand up, like of maintaining slavery and the slave trade, honest, honorable men, like the Representa-20,000,000 slaves in the United States-a tives of freemen, and avow their sentiments

in bondage; if we are to appoint officers to catch all who shall hereafter attempt to regain their freedom, and to pay the expenses of retheir freedom, and to pay the expenses of re-turning them to bondage; if we are to provide territory for them, and to maintain slave mar-man from New Hampshire to his constituents. alluded to by the gentleman who preceded me. I understand that he considered himself pledged to support the Compromise. I should like to know whether he will sustain the slave trade

Mr. HIBBARD. I voted for the bill of the last Congress abolishing the slave trade in the District of Columbia. That vote explains my

has no more right to bestow its energies for the support of the slavery of the South, than it has to sustain their banks, their railroads, or their of women and children. But I like to see a

United States to another, under the flag of our Union. Men, women, and children, are purchased in this District, and in the Northern slave States, and placed on board these slave ships and carried to the torture and premature deaths, which, it is well known, await them ash of inhuman overseers. It is estimated annually sacrificed to Southern barbarity. The blood of those victims rests upon the members of this body. We have the power to stop this flood of human gore. But, while these victims toil in chains, and sigh and weep under the tortures to which our law consigns them, members here refuse to examine this subject, refuse to permit the introduction of a bill to repeal this law; but they stand here and exert their utmost powers to revive to galvanize into life, the old party issues on which they have heretofore contended. They endeavor to close their eves to notorious facts, and soothe their consciences by occupying their own attention, and that of others, upon the miserable party con-flicts, which have no higher motive or aim than to secure the spoils of office to one or the other political party. I judge not for others, but so far as I am myself concerned. I should feel far less guilt were I to strike a stiletto to the heart of a single victim, than I should to exert my in-all est sustain that slave trade, or than I sher of the I to sit here in silence and permit that infamous traffic to continue without my solemn protest against it. It is frequently the case, that men and women, apparently doomed to the tortures of the far South by this trade, commit suicide rather than meet its horrors. All will recollect the story of the father, mother, and children, confined in a slave prison in accomplished no attempt to disturb it will of course be made. Secondly, that which defines the boundaries of Texas. This, too, has accomplished its object, and is therefore settled, and no longer a subject of controversy. The others, establishing Governments in our Territories, a neighboring State, destined to the Southern establishing Governments in our Territories. Hall, certain leading members publicly boasted of the fact, before we had even commenced the action continue this slave trade, share in the guilt of those dark and damning iniquities? Does not the blood of those victims stain our of final retribution, shall we plead this Compromise as a justification for crimes which would strike terror to a savage heart? I am aware that some of my colleagues have pledged themselves to sustain these Compromise measures, Conventions. But, for the sake of the arguthe time those bills were passed. Indeed, if my recollection be correct, there was no discussion upon the passage of the fugitive law, or the laws establishing Governments in Utah and New Mexico. They were passed under the Compromise measures. On the other than the compromise measures and by the press of that party, that their National Convention will do that which their Congressional caucus refused to do, by passing resolutions, pledging their party and their candidate to maintain the Compromise measures. On the other hand, the people of our State, that they frankly to the people of our State, that they frankly to the people of our State, that they are in favor of supporting this slave trade? I desire a full and fair understanding on this subject. I wish to understand the position of the Whig party of my own State. sustain this coast-wise slave trade, or will they not? or are they to play dark and keep silent?

I mean no disrespect to my colleagues of either party. I am solicitous that the people of Ohio should understand how each of their representatives stands on these questions. The people of the North have been deceived long enough by politicians, who proclaim their intention to sustain the Compromise, without descending to particulars and explaining what important inquiries, which, as yet, have never been answered; nor have they been discussed in this body.

they mean by such support. Indeed, gentlemen dare not avow their intention to sustain the slave trade in this District, upon our Southknow that discussion has increased and extended more rapidly since the enactment of those laws than at any former period.

Our elections are very generally made to deputy marshals to arrest the slavery end on the slave question. It has placed new on the slave question. It has placed new and able members in the Senate, and it has placed new on the slave question. It has possession and the slave question of the Senate, and it has often the period on the slave question. It has placed new single department. That law residue of the Comprosion of the Senate, and it has often alles in makes it the duty of judges to grant such protects that part which directs marshals and spain took up the Deficiency bill, when this District, with its attendant commerce in thus District, with its attendant commerce in the slave question. It has placed new and able members in the Senate, and it has derived on the slave question. It has placed new and able members in the Senate, and it has derived on the slave question. It has occasion of the Senate, and it has defined and established driven others into retirement. It has occasion great changes in this body. Where ern coast, and in our Territories, and to maintuting our flag to the protection of a commerce in human flesh. I would be as willing to tratific in God's image, as I would to sustain the in human flesh. I would be as willing to traffic in God's image, as I would to sustain the
owner of yonder slave prison in his accursed
vocation, by upholding the law which author
The principles and the feelings of the people of
the free States, inhuman, and barbarous.

Mr. Chairman, it has pleased certain gentlemen, on various occasions, to allude to myself
and my political friends as opposed to the Conizes him to pursue it. I would as soon vote for Williams, the slave dealer and owner of yonder barracoon, to the office of President, as I would To sustain the Compromise is to sustain commerce. Yet, sir, strange as it may seem, this revolting practice—to give these slave—vour Presidential candidates of the Democratic success unless they patronize those worse than savage practices, while the Whig candidate is to keep silence in regard to them.
But the Compromise was intended also to,

ponorable Secretary of State. I think, will not repeat that gigantic falsehood which he put known here and throughout the country that slavery existed in Utah. The fact had been published some two months previously in most our leading newspapers; and if the author of that declaration was ignorant of the fact, I think he was the only member of Congress uninformed on that point. Slavery also exists Indeed, if we can rely upon the public press, a Judge of New Mexico was lately engaged in purchasing slaves in this city to work the silver mines of that country, from which

the Secretary of State asserted that slavery was excluded by God's law. Now, if the Compromise be sustained, then are these Territories to be delivered over to the curse of slavery. The soil which, under Mexikind for market, that he approves of this traf-fic in God's image. If any member from the now, under American law, to be cursed with the most degrading oppression that exists upon and men bought and sold, and women made the subjects of purchase and sale, on territory conquered by our arms. To sustain the Compromise, is to sustain slavery and the slave trade in those Territories. To vote for Presi-dential candidates who uphold the Compromise,

this floor rise and proclaim their intention to support the Compromise, I understand them to say emphatically, that they have made up their minds to support slavery in this District Southern men as giving their influence in favor Federal Government. I desire the people of gentlemen maintain their opinions at home and in this Hall. I have no respect for that man who will hold one set of doctrines before the people at home, and then lend his influence to overthrow them in this Hall. The people have no respect for such men; nor do I believe that such men have respect for themselves.

Mr. Chairman, who that held a seat in this Hall during the last and present Congress, could listen to the gentleman from Massachutetts, [Mr. RANTOUL.] who spoke so frankly

he will do, than I have for members who refuse Bay State, who recently spoke so boldly on Indiana, as stated in the public papers, could to speak, but east their votes and exert their influence to maintain this slave trade. I prethis Government has no right to interfere, and with which we cannot interfere, except at the expense of the constitutional rights of the North.

In this view of our constitutional obligations, both the great validad particular of the property of the prop that, by the ninth section of the act of 1807, port of slavery and of the slave trade, come slave dealers are authorized to carry (under certain regulations,) slaves from one port of the who represent an enlightened people. This who represent an enigneest people it is due to wards their oppressors, whether they be slave-the people; it is due to ourselves. We have holders, or the allies of slavery. It is a law of the people; it is due to ourselves. We have been pained at exhibitions of tergiversations the human mind. All honest men must unite here; at the exposure of gentlemen who hold in the acknowledgment of their rights. It is to manly sentiments of freedom at home, and our duty to carry intelligence to every being when they once get here, turn round and who bears the image of our Creator. Thouwhen they once get here, turn round and upon the cotton and sugar plantations. There they are murdered under a slow torture by the cuse for this deception. If our constituents desire us to act for slavery, let us do it openly that twenty thousand human victims are thus and boldly. If they wish us to maintain the annually sacrificed to Southern barbarity. The cause of freedom, let us do it manfully, or resign our seats in this body: but let us not very are converted into the means of its overdeceive those who honor us with their confi-

Again, sir, by maintaining the Compromise, to involve the people of the free States in the expense and disgrace of arresting and imprisonthat he possessed to pursue and capture his horse or mule. That the latter part of this provision, which says "he shall be delivered ing him. This was the view expressed by the Supreme Court, in the case of Prigg us the

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. This is perfectly consistent with the views of the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. RANment, I will go beyond him, and admit that Congress possesses the right to legislate so far as to secure the owner in the exercise of this right; that we may, by legislation, punish any person who interferes with that privilege, either by making such interference penal, or giving a compensation to the owner. This was the view evidently entertained by the Congress of 1793. They endeavored to effect this object; but there they stopped. They made no attempt to involve this Government, or the people of the free States, in the burdens, expuse, and disgrace, of catching and sending the trembling fugitive

back to bondage.

Here, sir, at this precise point, I take issue

him back in chains.

Those portions of the law which authorize is a Federal measure, a centralizing measure.

stitution. They will not meet our arguments on this point. They recoil from legitimate decharges, carefully avoiding every specific point. I now repeat, that to the full extent to which the law of 1850 involves this Government, its officers, and the people of the free States, in the burden, the expense, and disgrace, of recapturing and returning fugitive slaves, it is uncon-

be a member from Ohio, or from any free State east of it, who denies this position? Is there one who holds that his constituents and him-Utah show that slavery exists there. Servile politicians can no longer deny the fact. The will announce the fact. I long to find one such public man; and if there be one here, I wish he would avow the fact.

No, Mr. Speaker, I blush for my country. when her representatives take shelter behind unmeaning generalities, and refuse to avow their honest sentiments.

If gentlemen intend to support the Compre mise, they must of course intend to chase down the trembling female, as she flees from the inhumanity of a worse than savage oppressor And, in view of some men, no candidate is fit for President, or other office, unless he is wil-ling thus to degrade himself in view of those who regard with sentiments of respect the dignity of the human race.

Mr. Chairman, we are under neither moral

nor political obligations to legislate on this subject. The first clause of the same section of the Constitution provides that "the citizens of each State shall enjoy all the privileges and immu-ties of citizens of the several States," Now, sir, instead of carrying out this provision of the Constitution, by legislating for its enforcement, we have left the subject as it was when the Constitution was adopted. And instead of enforcing this provision, we permit Southern States now to sell the citizens of Massachusetts into slavery; and hundreds of native born American citizens have by those States been and palpable violation of the Constitution, and are now bowing under the lash; while members of this body from the same States do not humanity, but are eager to rise and swear allegiance to this fugitive law; avowing their readiness to chase down a fellow being who seeks an asylum from oppression. How long will the people tolerate such callousness, such insensibility to all that is right, and just, and

Mr. Chairman, for sixty years this construc-tion of the Constitution which I have express-ed has been acknowledged and observed. Dur-ing that period, no statesman advanced the abing that period, no statesman advanced the ab-horrent doctrine of subjecting the laboring men of the North to the disgrace of catching slaves. The history of our Government shows this fact, and coming ages will read it. This law which takes from the laboring men of the North a portion of their earnings, to pay for catching and returning fugitive slaves, is a thousand times more repugnant to their feelings than was the stamp act, or the tax on tea. Under this law, they are involved in supporting an institution which they detest: compelled to contribute to the commission of a crime abhorrent to humanity. This oppression, this violation of conscience and of their constitutional rights, this tyranny, they feel and deprecate. It is The history of our Government shows this fact, of conscience and of their constitutional rights, this tyranny, they feel and deprecate. It is that an intelligent—a patriotic— sion in all its forms—against tyranny and sion in all its forms—against tyranny against tyrann impossible that an intelligent—a patriotic— people can long be subjected to such violations of their rights and the rights of humanity. The conscience of the nation cannot be long separated from its Government. It will be in and write essays, to convince our people that it is their duty to uphold the slave trade and the fugitive law. It will be in vain for "ministers

Mr. HIBBARD. I voted for the bill of the state trade in the District of Columbia. That vote explains my views on that subject. If the gentleman wishes to know whether I would vote for a bill abolishing slavery in the District, or the trade between the people of the District, or the trade between the people of the District, or the trade between the people of the District, I amswer that I should vote against it. I am opposed to the further agitation of the subject.

Mr. GIDDINGS. I thank the gentleman for his frankness. I understand him, and the country understands him. I was mistaken in supposing there was no man from a free State who has not the moral courage who would sustain this commerce in the bodies. must pity him who has not the moral courage to give a vote where slavery is involved.

Sir, I would commend to our Whig friends

the hearts of a Christian people, will eventually set these barbarous enactments at defiance. I should like, and then another, but I did not know which would be best to ask, and so I said, system of apprenticeship, or the laws of those States respecting minors, or those which regu
Sir, I would commend to our Whig friends The shooting slaves in the mountains of Pennknow which would be best the example of the gentleman who thus says what the example of the gentleman from the old

of slavery and of the slave trade, come carry knowledge and intelligence to the whole the human mind. All honest men must unite sands of agencies are at work, bearing inform-

By an inscrutable law which pervades the moral world, our very efforts to sustain slathrow. The slave trade in this District is upheld for the purpose of sustaining slavery in our Southern States. But where is the reflectwe shall uphold the fugitive law, with all its ing man, who does not see that every slave sold infamous and unconstitutional provisions. The from this city carries with him intelligence of constitutional provisions in regard to fugitives from labor have been so often argued by me. dom when transferred South? Why, sir, in that I will not, on the present occasion, repeat that mournful procession of fifty-two victims of my views. I will only say that a proposition this infamous commerce, taken from this city to involve the people of the free States in the in 1848, was an individual of unusual intellect. expense and disgrace of arresting and imprison-ing fugitive slaves, was offered to the Conven-different times to aid him in raising money to tion that framed the Constitution; that the redeem his sisters. They were, however, sold, proposal was objected to; and so strong were the objections, that the member who offered it lent people at the East, and are now free. I withdrew it, not daring to take a vote of the Convention. We are all aware that on that with intellects of the highest order. He was by that instrument, or by any moral or political principle, to participate in the expense or the disgrace of capturing fugitive slaves. We know, historically, that it was the intention of the framers of that instrument to do no moral than to secure to the control of the president of the United States. But he was a victim to this slave trade; and unless he now sleeps in a service. than to secure to the master the same right to pursue and capture his slave in a free State, will be perfected in blood. That, too, is the case with every fugitive slave who is returned to bondage. The whole Northern slave population are becoming intelligent. They read, or hear read, the discussions of our Northern press. They learn what is said in this Hall. The remarks I am now making will reach the ears of many thousands who are borne down by oppression. To them I say, "All men are created equal;" "you are endowed by your Cre-ator with an inalienable right to liberty;" and I add the words of one of Virginia's noblest sons, "GIVE ME LIBERTY, OR GIVE ME DEATH."

Mr. Chairman, the day of redemption for

this people must come. No human power can prevent it. All reason, philosophy, and history, demonstrate the approach of that day. Look at the British West Indies. There the Africans for centuries labored under the scourge; they clanked their chains; they toiled and wept under the hand of oppression. But they increased in numbers, as do the slaves of our Southern States. Their oppressors became enervated by indolence and luxury, while the slaves increased in numbers, in knowledge in power, precisely as do the slaves of this land, sareastically called a land of freedom. They became an expense to their Government, as do ours. That expense increased, as our does, until the Government had no other course than to purchase them and set them free. The same result is intended by those who now adupon the constitutionality of that portion of the law of 1850 which imposes upon this Government the burden, expense, and disgrace, of chasing down the flying bondman, and sending tleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. RANTOUL,] it and require the appointment of officers to grant | calculated to concentrate power in this Govnation to sustain this institution, if we silently submit to this Compromise, I assert, without desitation, that a proposition to relieve our-selves from this burden, by the purchase of the slaves of the nation, will be made within the ing men of the North, of all parties, your constitutional rights, your liberties, are in danger. To pay \$1,200,000,000 would, however, be far ess degrading to the Northern character than this fugitive law.

Sir, gentlemen here strive to get up old party

Who does not know that those issues have become obsolete; that they cannot be galvanized into life? Who now contends for a National Bank? Who opposes the sub-treas-ury? These issues have been surrendered by Whigs. The Democratic party no longer contends against harbor and river improve-ments. There will be no more proceeds of the public lands to divide among the States. There s no longer any issue of principle in regard to he tariff. The Whigs ask no more, than that the revenue to sustain Government shall be raised by a tariff of duties, so adjusted as best to promote the interests of our own labor. To this the whole Democratic party of the North assent. There is no longer any party who goes for free trade—for supporting Government by direct taxation. I would myself be willing to try this method, as it would soon abolish the slavery of the South; but no political party is in favor of that system; all agree upon he principles of a tariff, but differ as to the amount which shall be assessed on various ar-Why, sir, for three years the parties have

been unable to arrange themselves upon any issue, whether it be the tariff, or any other of the old questions which divided Whigs and Democrats. Nor can those issues ever again become interesting. They have become lete by force of circumstances. While these issues have been fading away, the great and overshadowing questions of humanity have been increasing, strengthening, and extending throughout the nation. It has entered into all our moral and political questions. It is discussed in our social circles, our political concussed in our social circles, our political conventions, and our pulpits. It controls our county and State elections, our elections of members of Congress, and our Presidential elections. It occupies the attention of our State Legislatures and of Congress. Europe sympathizes with us in this great work. The question of a man's right to his life and liberty corresponds to the civilized. now occupies the attention of the civilize world. It has thrown Europe into commotion be redeemed and regenerated from oppression, until the stain of slavery shall be wiped from

our national escutcheon. usurpation. Nor will we cease our warfare, until victory, rendered glorious by results that will reach forward to man's remotest existence shall crown our toils-

CONGRESSIONAL PROCEEDINGS.

THIRTY-SECOND CONGRESS-FIRST SESSION.

TUESDAY, MARCH 23.

After several other petitions and reports, Mr. Dodge presented the petition of numerous citizens of Washington, praying a change of the city charter, so as to have all officers of the cor-

poration elective.

A bill amending existing laws, so as to enatheir salary, notwithstanding their absence from the Territories, provided that absence be with the approval of the President, was taken up, and, after discussion, was ordered to a third reading.

The bill providing for the establishment of a

dry dock and navy yard on the bay of San Francisco was then taken up. Mr. Gwin addressed the Senate in defence of the bill, and Mr. Brodhead commenced a reply, but before concluding he yielded the floor, and the Senate

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24. Mr. Sumner presented petitions in favor of

cheap ocean postage.

Messrs. Bradbury and Soulé presented petitions in favor of the extension of further aid to the Collins line.

Mr. Gwin said it was unnecessary to refer

the petitions, as the Committee had agreed to

report a uill.

Mr. Borland submitted a resolution calling upon the President to communicate a variety of information concerning the plan, materials, contracts, &c., for the extension of the Capitol. He defended himself from certain remarks by the Republic, upon his course in relation to the

After some remarks by Mr. Badger, the reso-

lution was agreed to.

The Senate then proceeded to the considera-tion of Executive business, and shortly after

adjourned. THURSDAY, MARCH 25.

Mr. Fish presented three memorials, which he said were respectably signed by citizens of New York, connected with all the political par-ties, praying that Congress will stand firmly by the principles of Washington, as embodied in his Farewell Address, with respect to for-

by the principles of Washington, as embodied in his Farewell Address, with respect to foreign affairs, and not yield to the dangerous doctrines of Kossuth.

On motion of Mr. Fish, the memorials were laid on the table, a committee of the Senate having the subject before them.

On motion, the Senate took up and adopted the resolution heretofore submitted by Mr. Sumner, calling upon the Postmaster General for a great variety of information connected with his Department. Also, the resolution heretofore introduced by Mr. Weller, calling for information with regard to certain charges against the Mexican Boundary Commissioner.

The Senate then proceeded to the consider-The Senate then proceeded to the consideration of the bill to establish a navy yard and naval depot at San Francisco, when Mr. Brodhead resumed his remarks in reply

o Mr. Gwin.

The bill was further discussed by Messrs. Badger, Gwin, and others; after which, the amendment offered by Mr. Badger to that reported by the committee was agreed to. Several other unimportant amendments were made, and the amendment of the committee agreed to. The bill was then reported to the Senate, and all the amendments concurred in. Mr. Brodhead then offered a substitute for

the bill, providing in substance for the construction of a pier, in the place of a basin and railway; pending which, The Senate adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. TUESDAY, MARCH 23.

repetition of what was advanced yesterday.

The question several times reverted to the reduce the subsistence in kind, amounting to \$279,000, and the amount required for the pay of five companies of Texas mounted volunteers, being \$80,711; making in the aggregate \$359,000, to \$100,000; but without the Committee being able to arrive at a vote, and at twenthe House adjourned.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24.

item, it not being to meet any deficiency.

Mr. Howard, of Texas, explained that it was to pay volunteers who had served out their time, for which no appropriation had been

Discussion took place on the section appropriating \$12,000 to complete the improvements on the square south of the President's house. The motion was passed with an amendment requiring a contract to be entered into, with

good and sufficient security.

Mr. Stanton renewed his amendment, appro priating \$1,500 for the casual repairs of the Capitol; which was agreed to as a separate

He then moved resolutions pursuant to instructions from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds; two of which were \$2,500 for the removal of the green-house, and \$10.000 for the repairs of the Potomac bridge, which it was understood would cost \$2,000-all of which were rejected. Mr. Johnson, of Arkansas, chairman of the

Committee on Indian Affairs, moved a section appropriating a sum to be paid to the Seneca Indians, to replace the amount of which they had been defrauded by an agent.

and the House adjourned. THURSDAY, MARCH 25.

On motion of Mr. Houston, the House went into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and resumed the consideration of

the Union, and resumed the consideration of the Deficiency bill.

The Committee agreed to an amendment to pay the Seneca Indians, in the State of New York, \$28,500, for moneys wrongfully withheld from them by an unjust agent; and the Secretary of the interior is required, upon the pay-ment of the money, to take steps to enable the United States to recover the amount due from

o'clock. Various amendments were proposed and debated, under the five minutes' rule; but without coming to any vote on the bill the

Capital Stock, \$150,000; Shares, \$100 each-

located in Grass Valley, the focus of Quartz Mining in California; chartered for Fifty Years, under Incorporation Act of California: Office, No. 208 Broadway, New York city.

JOHN A. COLLINS. HARRISON SCOTT.
JOHN COOK, Jr. WILLIAM C. CROSETT. HORACE GREELEY. LOCATION AND CLAIMS.

rincipal "CLAIMS" of the Company are upor

TITLE.

The tities to these veins are of two classes. One is derived from Mexican grants, embracing tracts of several leagues; and the other, which is nearly universal, by settlement and occupation spout the public domain of the United States. The first class of titles is disregarded by the maners, but the laster clasms universal confidence and aspect, and by the last seasion of the Legislature of Uniformia was legalized.

The statutes provided that in all cases of trespass upon

with the regulations of the miners for the covernment that particular locality where the claim in discorts is all

Hence the most perfect confidence is reposed in these titles. For individuals and companies they are regarded as equal to a fee simple. So great is the confidence in them that claims valued at thousands of dollars are constantly changing hands. It is asset to say that not one hundred suits have grown out of conflicting claims since the first discovery of gold in California.

covery of gold in California.

OHASS VALLEY QUARTZ.

As the operations of the Company are located in Grans Valley, it may not be out of place to g ve the reaster an approximate idea of the general average of the quartz rock in this particular region. In a diviting testimony upon this print, we shall summon upon the stand as witnesses a few from the many who are or have been practically engaged in quartz mining in this place. The President of this Company, from long experience, is of the opinion that the great mass of this quartz will average, by the present mill operation, two cents to the pound, or \$\frac{3}{2}\$ per ton. The quartz into, two cents to the pound, or \$\frac{3}{2}\$ per ton. The quartz into, two cents to the pound, or \$\frac{3}{2}\$ per ton. The quartz into, two cents to the pound, or \$\frac{3}{2}\$ per ton. The quartz into, two cents to the pound, or \$\frac{3}{2}\$ per ton. At this mill, the average yield has been about three and a hairfeening to the pound, or \$\frac{3}{2}\$ of \$\frac

subject, under date of July 25, 1851, says:

"Up to the present time. I have quarried some fourteen hundred tons of rock, have had in my emp oy from eight to twelve men daily, and have more than paid my entire expenses by crushing with a hand morter the richest portions of the rock, paying wages at the rate of three or f ur dollars a day, with board. By this hand operation I have crushed quarts yielding as high as eighty-six doiners to the pound, and little, i any, less than three dollars."

"After these "specimens" have been carefully colled from the whole mass of the rock by breaking it up into small pieces, the smallest yield of the remainder, when crushed and amalgamated at the mill, has been \$30 per ton, and the largest that had come under my observation as high as \$40 un my opinion, \$70 would be a fair average of each ton of rock."

Prof. Blake, a man of science, and thoroughly sequainted.

Prof. Blake, a man of science, and thoroughly acquainted

subject, under date of July 25, 1851, says :

Prof. Blake, a man of science, and thoroughly sequainted with this subject, writes:

"In Grass Valley, very rich quartz has been found. In many specimens that I have seen the quartz might have been said to have been literally imbedges in the gold, rather than the gold in the quartz. There can be no doubt, also, that quarta, in which no gold is visible to the maked eye, often contains a considerable portion. I have continued the Professory analyzed rock in which a cardul examination could not detect a particle of gold, but which has yielded as high as twelve cents to the pound."

Dr. Finley, an intelligent excitence, who is largely en-

Dr. Huddart remarked that Nos. 1, 2, and 6, showed no signs of goid whatever to the maked eye previous to smelt-ing; Nos. 3.4, and 5. showed gold in spots, but were by no means what would be called picked specimens.

The above calculations are based upon the value of gold at \$16 per ounce. In giving the dollars t, the ton, the cents

at \$16 per oance. In giving the dollars to the ton, the cents are omitted.

THE MACHINERY will be similar to that employed by the Grass Va ley Quartz Mining Company, former y owned by John A. Colins & Co. Phis style of machinery has been thoroughly and successfully tested. It will see-implies the same amount of labor with the employment of half less power than any other style of machinery that has come under our observation.

The following statement from William H. Willets, engineer, and formerly of Skaneateles, New York, and known to be a man of unimpeachable integrity, while it introduces other subjects, shows the superiority of this style of machinery:

GRASS VALLEY, December 7, 1851.

GRASS VALLEY, December 7, 1851. Grass Valley, December 7, 1851.

Dear Sir: You are my opinion of the Grass Valley Quarts Mining Co.'s Mill, Claims, &c., termerly known as J. A. Collins & Co.'s Model Mill. I have bad charge of the mill, as engineer, since the mill was started, (some six months) and can confidently say this mill is carable of crushing more rock than any mill in the Valley. This mill has ten stamps, but owing to their size, and the peculiar construction of its batteries, will crush mare rocks with one-third less hands and half the power, than other mills in this town that have eighteen stamps.

J. L. CROSETT, Esq. I have been running with Mr. Willets, as engineer, som two months, and fully concur in the above. MOSES L. RESERTON.

Wednesday, March 24.

The House went into Committee, and again took up the Deficiency bill.

Mr. Gorman, of Indiana, moved to strike out the sum of \$75,000 for subsistence, and to substitute \$3,000; and, in reply to the remarks of Mr. Houston yesterday, stated that the law upon which that gentleman relied, for making the transfer alluded to, only sanctioned a transfer when there was a surplus in hand.

Mr. Evans, of Maryland, said he had a proposition to make to the other side of the House, which was, instead of voting to support the army, and then cavilling about granting the supplies, to bring in a bill reducing the army and navy, and abolishing the forage.

The Appropriation was then passed, when the next appropriation of \$80,741, for pay of five companies of Texas mounted volunteers, came up. Mr. Brooks moved to strike out the item, it not being to meet any deficiency.

Mr. Howard, of Texas, explained that it was

1801, speaking of this mill, remarks:

"Among the most efficient mills now running, are those of Legrave & Co. John A. Collins & Co., and Mr. Waish. The first runs 18 stamps, and the last two, 10 each. The stamps of the first are only six inches square in the sace, and those of Collins & Co. are eight and fourteen inches—more than three times as large, and their morters are correspondingly large. The consequence is, this mill will crush considerably more than any in this walley."

James Delevan, Secretary of a Company that is constructal large mil in Grass Valley, writes.

a large mi.l in Grass Valley, writes:

"This mill and veins (Gollins and Company's) have an excellent reputation in this community. I regard it one of the best and most officient in this section."

Captain E. Wilson, long engaged in mining, in speaking of this mill, wries to J. L. Crosett:

"I have no hesitation in saying that I believe it one of the most efficient for reducing rock and saving gold, in operation. This I believe is the opinion of every judge working in the Vailey."

An intelligent writer in the California Courier bases a cilculation of the operations of a mill, crussing 100 tons daily, at one can per pound, as follows, to wit:

Expenses quarrying crushing, &c. \$1,100 tons at \$20, or one cent a pound. 2(000)

sible day, the necessary buildings to the reduction of 100 tons of quarts per day of 24 hours, as follows, vis:

The mill will consist of 36 stamps, after the pattern of John A. Golllu's & Company's mill, with a few important improvements, and playing in six batteries of six s'amps eachments, and playing in six batteries of six s'amps eachments, and playing in six batteries of six s'amps eachments, and playing in six batteries of six s'amps eachments, and playing in six batteries of six s'amps eachments, and playing in six batteries of six familiary and it has machinery to reduce the tailings, or the ore after it has machinery to reduce the tailings, or the ore after it has passed through analgamators, when such improvements shall have been discovered. The buildings will consist of a shall have been discovered. The buildings will consist of a stamp house, 30 by 50; amalgamating houre 30 by 40 feet; and one of the simps house, 30 by 30 feet; show for milwright and blaykamitch, 20 by 30 feet; dwelling, 20 by 40 feet; office it 17 20 feet; and wood-house, 10 by 60 feet.

They furthermore arree to give their own time, experience, and labor, to prompte the interests of the company, according to their best judgm nt, up to the time the engagements above specified shall have been fully performed, and the works of the company completed and running in perfect of

OF Pamphlets containing the charter of this Compat-and the laws of California upon corporations, and facts co-cerning Quartz and Quartz Mining, can be had by addres stock can be produced, by sending as above, post paid, Ban